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# CHAPTER XIII

## MAGIC

THE types of magic employed in the Rif can be divided into four categories: (1) the *baraka* of alleged descendants of the Prophet; (2) *theira*, or magic requiring the use of written charms and based on the mystic interpretation of the Koran; (3) *theira* of the *jnun*, a type similar in form but involving the participation of the *jnun*, and the use of books other than the Koran; (4) *sohor*, or old women's magic, which does not involve the use of writing. To these may be added as allied topics: (5) the *ar* or shame-compulsion; (6) the *'ahd* or oath; (7) methods of counteracting the evil eye; and (8) the interpretation of dreams. 789

Both the shame-compulsion and the oath are essentially magical, and are therefore included in this chapter. The treatment of religious and magical phenomena in separate chapters is for convenience only and implies no generic distinction.

### *BARAKA*

*Baraka*, or *er fihair* is usually confined to supposed descendants of the Prophet, and is dependent upon their possession of a magical emanation supposedly transmitted to them by him. *Baraka* is a force, a power, like the tabu of the Polynesians, and more like the *mana* of the Melanesians. A man possessing it is equipped with supernatural powers; he is able to predict the future, to perform miracles, and to heal or destroy by touch, or, through extension, by employing some object which has been in contact with his body, such as a part of his clothing, a piece of bread, or an egg which he has kissed. 789 778

A client wishing to know his future comes to the sherif at Targuist and presents his problem. On the ensuing night the sherif dreams about it, and in the morning tells his client what the future will contain. The client then pays a fee approximating five dollars and departs. The sherif is not limited to a single dream each night; he dreams as many as are required. 791

Not all Riffians believe in this magic, and only the inhabitants of Targuist and the Senhajan tribes under the control of the Ikhemrijen patronise the sherif regularly.

Persons suffering from any ailment whatever go to him to be touched. The sherif strokes the affected part, and exacts a fee of from thirty to fifty dollars. If the patient does not recover he and his relatives do not blame the sherif, but hold that the fatality is the *maktub*, or established fate, and that the soul's time has expired. 791 755

The sherif gives away pieces of cloth torn from his cast-off garments, which are taken away by the credulous and hung in their houses to prevent mischief from entering. In the *souia* at Targuist are baked tiny loaves of bread, supposedly full of *baraka*; they are given away, the recipients being told that a quarter of a loaf will fill them completely. Eating this bread is a prophylactic against illness and any mischance. 791 751

The sherif, and ordinary saints as well, give away eggs previously received as presents or fees, for which they have no use. The eggs are considered to be full of *baraka*, and men take them home to eat with their wives, thinking thus to avert calamity. 791

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Women bring their children, ailing or otherwise, to the sherif, who chews a piece of salt and spits it into the child's mouth, whereupon the mother goes away satisfied.

Some of the shorfa are illiterate and ignorant, knowing little of the Koran. They are supported by their fees and by gifts of food constantly brought them.

The *baraka* is transmitted by heredity, but not to all the sherif's offspring. Some of the latter, disgusted with their father's trumpery, work and earn a living like ordinary men. Others stay in the house at all times and pose as examples of propriety and behavior, in order to carry on the traditional calling. A sherif who fights loses his *baraka* by so doing, and the same is true of ordinary saints,[1] few of whom nowadays are credited with supernatural powers. Even the Sherif of Targuist was said to have lost his *baraka* for capitulating with the French and Spanish after the surrender of Abd el Krim in 1926.

## *THEIRA*

The type of magic depending upon writing for its efficacy is called *theira*. The students learn it in the cantonal mosque, and practice it while attending this institution and after they have finished their studies there.

Each student must make anew or copy his own manual, from which he is able to extract the charms fitting for each circumstance requiring magical treatment. He goes through the Koran listing all the nouns which have no direct reference to religion when read alone. He then matches beside each noun the phrase with which it is connected in the text, or the *sura* in which it is found each time it occurs. In this way each noun will have several different phrases or chapters following it in the finished catalogue. When a person requests a charm for a specific purpose, the student looks up the name of that purpose in his book and finds what phrases go with it. He must know the name of the person and the name of his or her mother, which he also looks up.

By a combination of the corollaries of the various nouns, including the purpose of the charm and the names of the participants, the student is able to decide which formula he shall write upon the charm, with what liquid and on what material; whether or not objects in intimate contact with the person to be protected or with the victim, or the hair of such a person, are needed; and by what means the charm shall be administered or used. The materials and methods used are listed below.

*Liquids.*

Ink made of burnt goat's horn boiled in olive oil. Christian ink will not work.
Blood of hoopoes.
Blood of owls.
Blood of bats.

*Materials.*

Paper of any kind.
Scapula, rib, or patella of a fox.
Scapula, rib, patella, or mandible of a hedgehog.
Snout of a wild boar.
Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight olive leaves.
A peeled stick of female wild olive wood.

[1] See above, p. 145.

778 [823] [70] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [71] (the so-called l-hajra de l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 411 [842] [755] [73] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[74] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 755 [84] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[85] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [86] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.

[825] 782 The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. Thepati ent goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and [87] he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 842] the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
[754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

824 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka
778 of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit /Igliwa/, zzest /Temsaman/) may be so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan-
[842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power
[843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall be good-looking (Tangier).

/109/ Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words
●755 from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul,
778 Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

/110/ At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura (Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura, sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case
[231] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or, on the 17th of May (mut 1-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame. A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines,
842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the morning on an empty stomach.

[841] /111/ Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro; Berb. fadis /Temsaman/ or fadis /Ait Waryager/) is eaten by women suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 /112/ The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand)
824 as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow.
696 Some scribes recite over it something from the /113/ Koran, knot seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

778
823 Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an
[755] empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 [117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

821 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in
775 a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 [118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman [Igliwa], usm, plur. usmän [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [Igliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

821 [119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [Igliwa],
789 tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

821 789 from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, Allah itahhlek alina be r-rahha u l-hena, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry things", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkala, Ait Waryager).

821 789 778 [129] Every man on earth has his star (Arab. nejima, plur. njum; Berb. itri, plur. itran or itran [Shloh, Ait Warain], itri, plur. itran or itran [Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager], itri, plur itran [Temsaman]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, Allah italla nejmak, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, Allah itaiyah nejmak, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a jedwal with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is in-
● [755] tended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to
[754] be used for witchcraft (shor)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the tabe a, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a rehi it is exposed to the wind, if he is a mawi it is put in water, if he is a t orabi it is buried in earth, if he is a nari it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's tabe a. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them baraka by shining on them.

778 372 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[755] [132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 778 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direction of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[833] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 772 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology, as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 778 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [534] [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 796 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners. To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

778 [199] The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable.

[342] [200] When the Ait Waryager are building ahouse they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

[204] The baraka of mosques is also used for various purposes.

[354] [205] Among the Ait Waryager a new lamp (rqandir) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its baraka.

[208] The baraka of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic herz (or horz; plur. hruz) or hejab (or hajab; plur. hjabat). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as lharz (plur. lahruz) and lhejab (plur. lhejabat) in the Shelha of Tazerwalt, rahajab (plur. rahajabat) in the Rifian of the Ait Waryager, and rhaz (plur. rhruz) in that of the Ait Temsaman.

Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative,
[789] or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called t ebrid (by the Ait Waryager).

778 [211] Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a pro-
755 tection against the jnun and the evil eye, and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former or other illnesses.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other.

When [212] a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a herz is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plate, and water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[261] If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Ait Waryager).

778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
●755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts
[224] of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
[153] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
834 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

776 jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke
789 of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsis-
776 tencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place
778 where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the baraka
784 possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

776 [315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is
789 to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[342] [317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat
782] is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[312] [321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the
[782] place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

776 [324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person,
● 755 attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means
789 used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

776 [325] The Ait Waryager rub pounded bitter almonds (ddauz mazag)
755 mixed with oil and salt on the affected part of the body of a person
789 who is troubled with le-ryah.

[328] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from an illness caused by jnun, a scribe writes a charm for him on a loaf of bread or on a paper, which is then put in the open in a place where no animal can get at it; it is left there over night so that the stars shall shine on it, and on the next day the patient eats the loaf or hangs the paper round his neck.

776 [356] Among the Ait Waryager there are women, called
791 dizuhriyin (sing. dazuhrit), who are likewise able to tell people about secret things and future events owing to the information they derive from jnun.

832 [361] A mahabba, or love-charm, may contain either the names of Muhammadan jnun, as well as something from the Koran, or the names of sayatin. This is a way in which such a charm is used: the man who wants to be loved by a certain woman goes to the neighbourhood of her house, puts the charm between the forefinger and middle finger of his right hand, and moves the fingers with the charm three times in the direction of the house, at the same time whispering the woman's name. Then he burns the charm between his fingers and goes away; and now she will love him (Ait Waryager). The following practice serves the purpose of overcoming a woman's objection to marrying a man who wants to marry her. A scribe writes a charm and keeps it in his house for seven days, fumigating it every evening with the smoke of pepper and saffron. During this period he must refrain from salted food, so that jnun—muminin—may speak to him. He then ties the charm to an olive tree with a hair of the woman, which has been rpocured by the man who wants to marry her. When the wind makes it flutter the woman will lose her senses, and she will remain in that condition until the scribe removes the charm from the tree and takes it to his house. As soon as this is done she not only comes to her wits again, but gets fond of the man, and [362] they soon become husband and wife (ibid.).

776 [396] A jenniya whose name is widely known in Morocco is the Gola. She is said to be very big and have the appearance of a woman, although she has also been seen with her extremities looking like the feet of a goat and with very much hair all over the body and the face.

595 possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage; it is
32 significant that the bride puts on the didli on the morning after her first intercourse withher husband.

787 [586] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person gets a sty some
355 woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

787 An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic in-
843 fluences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Warain). At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (sfarjel) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere, is found the belief that if a pregnant woman [587] (Hiaina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Ait Waryager), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birthmark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Ait Sadden).

787 [590] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the
777 sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [593] Rezq (razq, rezq) means all sorts of good things contributing
356 to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a per-
[312] son cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own rezq (Fez).

You may also sweep away your rezq. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Hiaina, Dukkala, Tangier, Andjra, Tsul, Ait Waryager), or even after 'asar (At Ubahti); and the Rifians of Temsaman consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon.

[595] Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. settaba; Berb. tasttabt [Ait Warain], tastta [Temsaman], disagwust [Ait Waryager]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Ait Waryager).

581 the community at large expect various benefits. For marriage is a
585 good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at any rate join in the feast (Ulad [10] Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager), and it is bad fal if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good fal if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the bas, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad fal to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shawia). So also the contrary belief that it is good fal to meet a funeral (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the bas; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier).

783 Manslayers are unclean.

755 [11] Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for stinging pain, in Arabic called nahsa, nogza, bab, or biban, among the Igliwa nnahst or nnogzt, among the Ait Warain tauwurt, among the Ait Waryager dauwort. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh.

783 [12] The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the
775 blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Ait
682 Waryager an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell.
284 Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken
682 anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes

884 and wearing a new bag (dajbirt); and he wears it not on his left side,
682 as usual, but on his right, to announce to all the people what he has done and to show that now he is a man. This is done whether the homicide took place in revenge or not. But though ordinary homicide
682 is admired, it is considered very bad to kill a scribe without sufficient reason because of his knowledge of the Koran, and it is also considered bad, though not in the same degree, to kill an unoffending shereef on account of his holy parentage; and if a man who has committed either of these cribes slaughters an animal, its meat will be difficult to digest. This indicates that the taboos imposed on manslayers have something to do with the moral side of the matter. And the same is obvious from the general view that it is neither sinful nor polluting to kill in war.

In other cases also wrongdoing contains magic energy productive
777 of evil.
789 If the first person you meet in [13] the morning when you set out
826 on a journey is one who does not observe his daily prayers, the best thing you can do is to turn back (Ait Waryager).

In Dukkala it is said that if a one-eyed person, a perfectly bald-headed person, and an albino meet in a boat it will not move.

The Ait Waryager say that the same will happen if a man who is blind, one who is bald, and one who has a sore under-lip meet on board a vessel.

[14] It is good fal for a man to have much hair on his chest (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager), evidently because it suggests strength; such hair is called s-sa'r de s-sbo'a, or "lion's hair".

777 [17] In Andjra, if anybody who is carrying something black meets
822 another person, he must put down what he is carrying while the other
789 one is passing; otherwise the latter will not pass at all but turn back, lest he should have some misfortune on that day. A similar custom prevails among the Shloh of Aglu and Glawi and among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; the person who is carrying the black object says when he puts it down, Hasak, or if he addresses more than one person, Hasakum, "With your permission", to which the answer is, 'Azk allah (in Rifian 'azzek allah), or if the person to whom it is said is a woman, 'Azkem allah, corresponding to our "pray".

789 [18] There are other cases in which people make use of the colour
822 black for their own benefit. It is used as a charm against the evil eye,
755

789 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathie magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough. Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

789 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it by having a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops [514] at once and makes water on them.

777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Ait Waryager).

796 782 755 [122] The holiness of the victim is also utilised in other ways. Magic propensities are ascribed to its blood.

A very common custom is for persons who have chapped skin on the feet, or who want to prevent the skin from being chapped, to dip them into the blood fallen on the ground (Dukkala, Ait Mjild, Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

The blood of the sacrificed animal is frequently used as a means of keeping off or expelling jnun. Among the Ait Waryager it is drunk by persons who are troubled with such spirits; whilst, as a precaution against them, the corners of the walls of the room inhabited by the owner of the sacrificed animal are sprinkled with its blood.

796 782 [123] The gall-bladder of the sacrificed animal is commonly hung up inside the house or tent, often over the fire-place; there is much baraka in it.

Among the Ait Waryager the person who removes the gall-bladder from the slaughtered animal throws it into the yard (azqaq), where the animals are kept, after first spitting on it.

[124] The right shoulder-blade is often preserved at least till the following Great Feast, being sometimes hung up in the tent or house, and sometimes buried among the corn which is kept there (Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager); but there are people who thus preserve it only in case it has been found to contain a good omen.

[125] Among the Ait Waryager slices cut from the horns are thrown into the fire when a snake is seen inside the house, the smoke being supposed to drive it away.

[126] In various Berber tribes (Ait Nder, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager) the barley which is found in the stomach of the sacrificed sheep is dried and afterwards sown in a special place in the field. The grain of the crop resulting from it is called "the barley of the Prophet" and regarded as holy. It is either sown separately or together with other seed, or, if there is much of it, partly used for food.

[128] Very commonly fortune is read in the right shoulder-blade 787 of the sacrificed sheep (Fez, Tangier, Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Amanuz, Aglu, Demnat, Igliwa, and other Shloh of the Great Atlas).

The shoulder-blade is supposed to tell whether the year will be good or bad, whether there will be much rain or drought, whether the food will be cheap or dear, whether the Sultan will be strong or

231 755 [288] The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (dmaggit; Ait Waryager); and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Ait Waryager). It is also used as a remedy [859] for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (ibid.).

231 839 [289] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Ait Waryager); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Ait Waryager, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn.

231 777 [292] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion.

262 [295] The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic hlib or halib; and in Berber akfai (Amanuz), takfit (Igliwa), aggu akffa (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi (At Ubahti), asaffai (Ait Waryager), asffai (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Buttermilk is called in Arabic lben; and in Berber agu (Amanuz, Igliwa), aggu anddu (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi asemmam (At Ubahti), agiy (Ait Waryager), agi (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Curded milk is called in Arabic rayib or raib; and in Berber ikkil (Ait Sadden), ekkir (Ait Yusi), aklil (Ait Warain), attsil (At Ubahti), assir (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[297] Fresh butter is called in Arabic zebda; and in Berber tudit (Amanuz), tamudit (Igliwa), udi (Ait Warain), tlussi (At Ubahti), drussi (Ait Waryager), trussi (Temsaman). Salt butter is called in Arabic smen; and in Berber udi (Amanuz, Igliwa, Aglu, Ait Warain), ddhen (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

252 [298] The Ait Waryager hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the aqasror, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before.

231 [307] Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a considerable number of sheep or goats he slaughters one of them so that there shall be much baraka in the animals and they shall be very fertile.

[303] Among the Ait Waryager whooping-cough is cured with the [755] milk of a perfectly black she-goat, which is taken in the morning on an empty stomach warm as it comes from the udder.

[304] If a dog eats from a vessel or licks it the vessel will break, unless it is washed seven times with hot water (Andjra); or it must be washed with water into which seven stones have been put in order to make it clean (Ait Waryager).

[305] If a dog or a cat steals food belonging to the scribes of the mosque it will have the itch (Ait Waryager). If the dog eats the flesh or blood of a camel it will become blind or die (Ulad Bu'aziz); and if it eats the blood of a person it will lose its hair (Andjra) or it is bad for the person (Ait Waryager). If a bitch is addicted to stealing food, its owner puts its pups on the road leading to the market-place so that passers-by shall take them up and teach them how to behave; then their mother will cease to steal (ibid.).

[308] Unlike other dogs the greyhound is regarded, not as unclean, but as possessed of baraka.

The cat, also, has some baraka. It is good to eat food of which [755] a cat has eaten before. This is a cure for nervousness (Andjra); and so it is to wash oneself with water from which a cat has drunk (Tangier), or to eat the flesh of a cat (Ait Waryager).

[309] A cat has seven lives; hence to kill one is as bad as to kill seven men (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[310] A person who eats the liver of a fowl is supposed to become a coward (Igliwa, etc.); hence it is not eaten by men and boys (Aglu, Ait Warain) or is not given to young boys to eat (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

A person, or at least a child (Ait Waryager), who eats the head of a fowl will become night-blind, because the fowl is unable to see [311] in the dark.

If a hen does not lay eggs, it is hung in a tree with the head downwards while it is raining (ibid.), or oil is put into its mouth and genitals (Ait Waryager).

[312] We have seen that baraka is ascribed to the bee and to honey, and noticed many observances connected with the idea of their holiness.

825 [262] The wild-boar, as well as the domestic pig, is an unclean animal and must not be used for food; swine's flesh is strictly forbidden to Moslems in four different places in the [313] Koran.

[317] It is generally believed that the hyena possesses the power of fascinating people with a view to devouring them, a belief which is also found in the East and is spoken of by Pliny as existing in classical antiquity. If a hyena makes water on a person (Casablanca, Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Aglu) or wets its tail and then sprinkles him with the urine (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or when seeking him makes a noise (Ait Waryager), he becomes enchanted or loses his senses and follows the animal to its den, where it eats him.

[755] [842] [319] The jackal contains much medicinal and magic virtue. [320] Childless men and women who are desirous of offspring burn the dried intestines of a jackal and fumigate themselves with the smoke, letting it pass underneath their clothes (Ait Waryager).

Among the Ait Waryager a person who is going out to steal puts the ear of a jackal in his bag in order to keep the dogs from barking; they will scent the smell of the jackal, of which they are much afraid.

[787] [321] To meet a jackal when you start on a journey is by some people said to be a good omen (Hiaina, Ait Waryager), but by others a bad one (Andjra, Aglu).

755 The fox contains 366 medicines.

825 [322] In other tribes the powder made of a charred fox, mixed with honey, or with honey, butter, and spices, is taken in the morning before breakfast as a cure for an affection of the heart (Ait Waryager) or for lberd (Ait Nder). Men who have been made impotent by witchcraft burn the penis of a fox and fumigate their own with the smoke.

[754] The gall of a fox is used by women for practising witchcraft, for example, with a view to inducing a man to divorce a rival wife.

[787] [323] Among the Ait Waryager the barking of a fox is supposed to indicate that the wind will be westerly, in Andjra and the Garb that it will be easterly. Charms are written on the skin of a fox.

The weasel is used as a medicine for horses and mules and, less often, for men. It is dried and burned, and the sick animal (Ulad Bu'aziz, Hiaina, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) or person (Temsaman) is made to inhale the smoke.

[324] The blood of a hedgehog is smeared on the head of a boy suffering from ringworm (daqassar), so that it shall be covered with hair as the hedgehog is covered with bristles (Ait Waryager).

825 The roasted and pounded liver of a hedgehog, mixed with honey, is also given to schoolboys to eat in the morning on an empty stomach in order that they may remember their lessons (Ait Waryager).

[326] The hare is said to have been once an old woman, who was transformed into a hare because she acted as a panderess (Ait Sadden). It menstruates like a woman and is therefore an unclean animal which [262] should not be eaten; but this rule is not strictly observed. It is eaten both as food and for magical and medicinal purposes.

825 [327] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from night-
755 blindness (butallis), the liver of a hare is roasted and cut into three pieces by the schoolmaster of the village, who then writes something from the Koran on them. The patient takes one of the pieces and goes with it in the evening after sunset to the dung-heap (dazubait) of the house, calls a dog, and eats the piece of the liver, giving little bits of it to the dog as well. On the two following evenings he does the same with the other pieces of the liver; and then he will get rid of his complaint.

[787] If you go anywhere in the morning and meet a hare it is a bad omen (Dukkala, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa), especially if the hare is asleep and wakes up and runs ahead of you (Hiaina).

[328] The bat is used as medicine for fever. It is dried and burned and the smoke is made to pass underneath the clothes of the patient (Ait Waryager).

825 [331] To shoot a raven may also be attended with evil consequences. I was told of two men among the Bni Msauwar who did so and whose guns burst, and similar things are said to happen among the Ait Waryager.

[787] [333] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person goes somewhere at any hour of the day, it is a bad omen to see one raven ahead of him but a good one to see two.

[334] The eye of an owl is used as a means of preventing a person from falling asleep.

Both eyes are also removed and put into water. I was told that one of them always sinks and the other one floats; but while some people sew up the eye which sinks in a small leather case and wear it as a charm to prevent sleepiness (Ait Nder), others eat the eye which floats for the same purpose (Ait Waryager).

825 787 [335] The Ait Waryager maintain that the hooting of an owl outside a house indicates that somebody in that or a neighbouring house will die, and they drive the bird away by throwing at it a sooty piece of a broken old earthenware pan or fire at it with a gun.

825 [337] A wild-dove once saved the life of the Prophet when he was persecuted by Christians, by telling them that he had gone one way although he had gone another, and for this reason the faithful were forbidden to kill any bird of its species.

[777] The Ait Waryager consider it unlucky if doves are living in a house, because they want to make it empty. In the same tribe, if a person 825 ● 755 suffers from fever, the dried dung of pigeons is burned, the smoke is made to pass underneath his clothes, and he inhales it as it comes through.

[751] [340] A person keeps his eyes in a good condition by [341] touching the inside of the eyelid with a raw and unbroken egg of a swallow or with a young bird newly hatched (Ait Waryager).

[342] A tortoise is never killed except for medicinal or magical purposes, and water tortoises, I believe, are not killed in any circumstances. People are afraid of them, as they are frequently supposed to be jnun; but when living in a spring or pond connected with a saint-shrine they are regarded as the servants of the saint and help to cure patients visiting the place.

Among the Ait Waryager the boiled flesh of a tortoise, prepared with salt, is eaten by sick people.

825 [343] A tortoise may have an evil effect on cows, sheep, and goats. Among the Ait Waryager, if the owner of a cow which has calved [231] does not give the cowherd the usual meal of bread and salt butter, the latter takes revenge by throwing a tortoise at the cow, which in consequence will never again give birth to a calf.

[344] There is a general fear of killing a frog or toad. At Aglu a man killed one with a stone, and his arm became paralysed. Among the Igliwa a person who killed a frog had fever for a year, and elsewhere also fever is supposed to be the consequence of such an act (Ait Waryager, &c.).

[348] The Ulad Bu'aziz believe that a snake which appears at the place where people are pitching a tent may be mul le-mkan, "the master of the place". They ask it politely to go away, and if it does not do so they kill it; but if they dream of the snake in their sleep they

852 553 goat with the assistance of his wife; but if he does not know how to slaughter an animal in the proper manner, the ceremony is performed by the fqi of the village. The meat of the animal is served at the feast which is given on this occasion, the scribes being entertained in the mosque, the other men outside the house, where they amuse themselves with shooting at targets, and the women inside the house. The liver is eaten by the members of the household, the head is given to the midwife, and the skin is sold. I was told that if this sacrifice were not made the child would die. The mother must present some money to the schoolboys of the village to induce the fqi to give them a holiday. On the previous day the nearest relatives brought boiled meat, bread, and butter as presents to the parents.

853 [401] It is a widespread belief that if a pregnant woman suckles a child the suckling will get an illness called la-gyel (l-gyel)— which literally means "the sucking of a pregnant woman", —from which many children die in Morocco (Tangier, Fez, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

755 [404] Among theAit Waryager women take their sick children to a mother of triplets, who cures the child by making cuts on its head and chest and the sides of its body, so that blood issues, and by pricking the top of its head with a red-hot oleander twig.

551 The name of the child is in certain cases fixed by custom. If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this is a very general and stringent rule. Moreover, if a saint has been invoked by the parents to help them to a son, the latter is in most cases called by the name of the saint, who is then supposed to become his protector.

The first-born son is very frequently called Muhammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Ait Waryager).

In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Muhammed. This is a very widespread practice; and it is believed that if the son were called after a living father whose name is not Muhammed, either the father or the son would soon die (Tangier, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[405] Among the Ait Waryager it seems to be the rule that if a man has more than one wife the eldest son of each wife is named Muhammed.

775 [546] Dead saints may appear to the living in human or animal shapes; but as to ordinary dead people I have been assured over and over again that the dead do not walk, and I remember how heartily my friends in the tribe of Jbel Hbib laughed when I told them that many Christians believe in ghosts. The dead may come and see their friends; but on these occasions they cannot themselves be seen by anybody, and they come not as enemies but as friends.

Among the Ait Waryager men who have fallen in war with the Christians come to their relatives at night, but they do so only in kindness.

[547] The Ait Waryager believe that graveyards are haunted both by the dead and by jnun who come out of the ground in the dark.

[548] The place where a person has been found killed is regarded as haunted, whether he is buried there—as is often the case with a stranger or one who has no family—or not. Everywhere in Morocco it is marked with a small cairn of stones.

In some parts of the country travellers passing such a cairn often add a stone to it (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Aglu), whereas in other parts of the country there is no such custom.

[550] In Andjra I was told that the place where a person has been killed is meskun, or haunted by jnun. A scribe from the Ait Waryager denied that it is meskun, but admitted that his people are afraid of it.

789 [552] In Northern Morocco, if a married woman is afraid that her [832] husband is in love with somebody else, she secures the assistance of an old woman, who goes in the night to a cemetery with a dish of seksu, unearths the hand of a newly buried corpse, and stirs the seksu with it. Among the Ait Waryager the old woman cuts off the right hand of the corpse and brings it to the jealous wife, who uses it in the said manner, not only once but several times, when she is making seksu.

[556] The magic energy inherent in a corpse, however, is used not only in witchcraft but for prophylactic and curative purposes as well. [755] Among the Ait Waryager one who has decayed teeth rubs them with the forefinger of a dead person's right hand before or while he is washed.

[557] Among the Ait Waryager it often happens that when a grave has been dug, but before the dead body has been lowered into it, a man lies down full length in the grave in order to acquire strength, [755] whether he be ill or not. Among the same Rifians a person who suffers from a bad headache goes to the grave of a stranger (who may be a holy man) before sunrise, places some bread or figs on it, and ties there a piece of his clothes as a little flag; and on the two following mornings he again visits the grave but without putting anything there.

000 18--These carnivals are impromptu affairs put on particular feast days ('Ansra, 'Aid l-Kbir, but not on 'Ashura as far as we know) by the people themselves, who are given the name ishwiyikhen when they dress up. A full description may be found in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 152-4. [114] Such carnivals still occur among the Igzinnayen, and possibly among the Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman as well, but are (and were) unknown among the Aith Waryaghar, contrary to Coon's statement regarding their distribution.

[755] 19--The lighting of bonfires was practiced all over the Rif on the day of the 'Ansra, or summer solstice festival, on June 24 (Julian, or agricultural, calendar); women and children used to jump over these fires to cure themselves of any ills. The custom was, however, looked on very much askance, if not actually outlawed, by 'Abd al-Krim; and no one indulges in it today, although it seems that the mountaineers of the subclan of Timarzga in the Aith Waryaghar followed it as late as 1950.

[114] 20--The shroud of a corpse is not pierced in any way in the Rif, nor is a stick nailed perpendicularly to the grave. Perhaps what is meant in the latter instance is the Rifian practice of placing the footstone of a woman's grave perpendicular to the headstone, to differentiate it from a man's grave, in which both stones are parallel to each other.

21--A Hizb, pl. hizib, is one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran.

[796] 22--In the muslim year, there are two feasts called 'aid: the 'Aid s-Sghir, or "Little Feast", which occurs just after Ramadan, and the 'Aid l-Kbir, or "Big Feast", on the 8th through 10th days of the last month of the year, the Dhu l-Hijja. It is to the 'Aid l-Kbir that the text refers here. These three days are those when pilgrims at Mecca [788] undergo the rites of pilgrimage, and when Muslims all over Islam must [782] sacrifice a sheep in commemoration of the sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

23--An imam is a prayer leader in the mosque, who stands before the congregation.

[796] 23a--On the day before 'Aid l-Kbir (i.e. day of 'Arafa), women visit cemeteries and take food with them, which they eat there, while the men go to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar (an amrabidh of Algerian origin, from Tlemcen, who is buried in Bu Ma'dhan, in the subclan of Timarzga, at the highest point--1930 meters--in the whole tribe of the Aith Waryaghar). While there, they watch the litany and ritual of the religious brotherhood of the 'Alawiyin, after which they distribute alms to the tulba (who attend in droves), pray en masse, and go home to sacrifice their sheep the following day (the 'Aid l-Kbir proper) in the bosoms of their families. See our article, "An 'Imarah in the Central Rif: the annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar", Tamuda, Año V, Semestre II, 1957, pp. 239-245; my report is based on field notes taken at the ceremony itself in 1955.

[114] 24--This is not so. Women visit cemeteries on feast days, but that is all.

25--It is not.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

[755] [782]

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyis in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a dinoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[782] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi, where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, especially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrimage is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of volintary association of such prominence in north Africa. (A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

754 791 789 793 443 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 754 789 435 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may [755] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One [755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi- [554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to 000 curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
776 the djnoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The djnoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a djnoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the djnoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 djnoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the djnoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye